

Experience with Pornography: Rapists, Pedophiles, Homosexuals, Transsexuals, and Controls¹

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An interview designed to assess a respondent's experience with erotic material in photographs, films, and books, during adolescence and adulthood, was administered to convicted male rapists, pedophiles, homosexuals, transsexuals, heavy pornography users, and two nondeviant contrast groups. One nondeviant group was composed of whites matched for the sex offender group; the other was composed of ghetto and middle-class blacks. Adolescent exposure to erotica was significantly less for all deviant and offender groups compared to the nondeviants. During adulthood, the sex offenders and transsexuals continued to report less exposure to erotic stimuli than controls. The homosexuals and users, however, both report greater exposure during adulthood. As adolescents, the control group, rapists, and heavy users were excited to masturbate by the erotic materials more than the other groups. As adults, the controls and rapists showed a sharp decrease in being excited to masturbate to erotica while the users' rate remained high and the homosexuals' rate rose. Less than a quarter of the respondents in any group imitated sexual behavior seen in the erotic material immediately or shortly after its viewing. The hypothesis that extent of exposure during adolescence to erotica is positively associated with the later emergence of sexual pathology is not borne out by this study. The non-deviant, non-sex-offender groups sampled had had significantly greater exposure to erotic materials during adolescence than the deviants, convicted sex offenders, or heavy adult users of pornography.

INTRODUCTION

This present report describes the second phase of a research project designed to assess whether relationships might exist between experience with pornography and the

¹ This study was carried out for the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.

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development of normal or abnormal sexual behavior. The first phase of the research was concerned with developing a standardized clinical interview with which to survey both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of an individual's past and current uses of erotic materials. The first step was to develop a working model for the interview and this initial model served as a guide in the development of the questionnaire, which focused on examining factors antecedent to exposure to pornographic and obscene materials, the exposure itself, and the results or consequences of this exposure. The interview was designed as a series of modular sections such that it can be used in its entirety or in sections to fit specific research interests.⁷

SAMPLE

The sample consists of a group of institutionalized male sex offenders comprised of rapists and pedophiles, two noninstitutionalized groups of sex deviants (male homosexuals and transsexuals), a group of noninstitutionalized heavy users of pornography, and control groups drawn from two ethnic backgrounds.

Institutionalized Sex Offender Sample

This sample of male sex offenders was obtained with the generous cooperation of the research and psychology staffs at Atascadero State Hospital. Atascadero State Hospital is a California institution for the "criminally insane." Any sex offender judged to be psychiatrically disturbed by a court having jurisdiction may be sent there for observation. If during a period of observation (typically 90 days) the patient is judged by the staff to be suitable for the program of rehabilitation and treatment provided by the hospital, he is permitted to stay.

From their total population of sex offenders, past their 90-day observation period, the research staff at Atascadero was asked to draw three groups of approximately 20 each of sex offenders for study: (1) aggressive sexual offenders, especially rapists or attempted rapists (hereinafter usually referred to simply as "rapists"); (2) pedophiles (child molesters) who selected *male* children as sexual objects; and (3) pedophiles who selected *female* children as sexual objects.

Homosexual Sample

This sample was drawn from the membership of a local homophile organization, One Incorporated.

Transsexual Sample

Each person applying for a sex-change operation at UCLA is referred to the Gender Identity Clinic for psychiatric and psychological evaluation. Those persons currently in the Los Angeles area and a patient of the Gender Identity Clinic were asked to participate.

⁷ Copies of the interview are available upon request.

The Users Sample

This sample was designed to be drawn from those people who pay for or use erotic material. Subjects were obtained from people responding to flyers left in pornographic bookstores, “skin-flick” movie theaters, and an advertisement placed in an “underground” newspaper (*The Free Press*).

The Black Control Samples

The black control subjects consisted of two groups: One group is composed of 22 males residing in the Los Angeles ghetto who are trainees in a job-training program for hardcore unemployed at the Community Skills Center, Gardena, California. The middle-class sample of 17 males was not systematically drawn from a known pool of subjects. Instead, the interviewers knowledgeable about the black community were instructed to locate persons satisfying an income definition of middle-class economic status.

The White Control Sample

In order to locate a sample of subjects with minimal chance of statistical bias in sampling, a subcontract was awarded to the UCLA Survey Research Center to locate respondents. They were given the age distribution and educational level distribution of the Atascadero samples and were told to locate a community sample matched on these parameters. This sample was white and Christian to match the Atascadero sample. The homosexuals, transsexuals, and users also were almost entirely white.

Demographic Data

Subjects fell primarily in the 20–40-year age range with the homosexuals and pedophiles somewhat older than the controls. The match between controls and rapists on age, education, and socioeconomic status is very close. Educational levels are comparable for the controls, rapists, and pedophiles who prefer males, and, in turn, superior to the pedophiles who prefer females. The homosexuals and transsexuals have more formal education than the controls; the users and controls are comparable. There is no difference in the socioeconomic status of the controls, rapists, and pedophiles who prefer females. Compared to controls, the homosexuals and transsexuals have more professionals and fewer unskilled workers. The pedophiles who prefer males have more semi-skilled and fewer clerical workers than the controls.

REPORTED FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO EROTIC STIMULI

In the course of the interview a respondent was asked to estimate the frequency of his exposure to stimuli representing various degrees of nudity and forms of sexual activity. In the section focusing upon adolescent experience, questions were asked about representations of sexual activity in a particular medium (photos, movies, or

books). The questioning followed a systematic order starting with the most probable stimulus to be encountered, partial nudity, and ending with the least likely, sado-masochistic activity. As each type of stimulus was mentioned by the interviewer, the respondent was asked to recall the number of times that he encountered it during that period of his life. During the later section of the interview designed to elicit material regarding the previous year's experience (or in the case of the institutionalized sex offenders, the year prior to hospitalization), the same questions were repeated and frequencies of exposure were elicited.

REPORTS OF ADOLESCENT EXPERIENCE

Sex Offenders: Rapists

The data in Fig. 1 present the percent of respondents who report *never* being exposed during adolescence to various stimuli.⁸ While these data suggest a higher

⁸ In the statistical analysis of the data, frequencies of exposure per subject were subdivided into four categories as follows: (1) never seen; (2) 1–10 exposures reported; (3) 11–50 exposures reported; and (4) 50 or more exposures reported. These four frequency groups were then utilized to compute chi-squares between each target group and controls for each discrete stimulus-media combination. It can be noted from the figures and tables that occasionally sharp differences exist between groups on the percent *never* as graphed, but that significant chi-squares fail to be indicated for that comparison. This means that while differences exist in that discrete category (never), over the total range of frequencies reported the groups do not differ. Most often this reflects a bimodal distribution within a group in which a marked frequency of never exposed and 50 or more exposures are present.

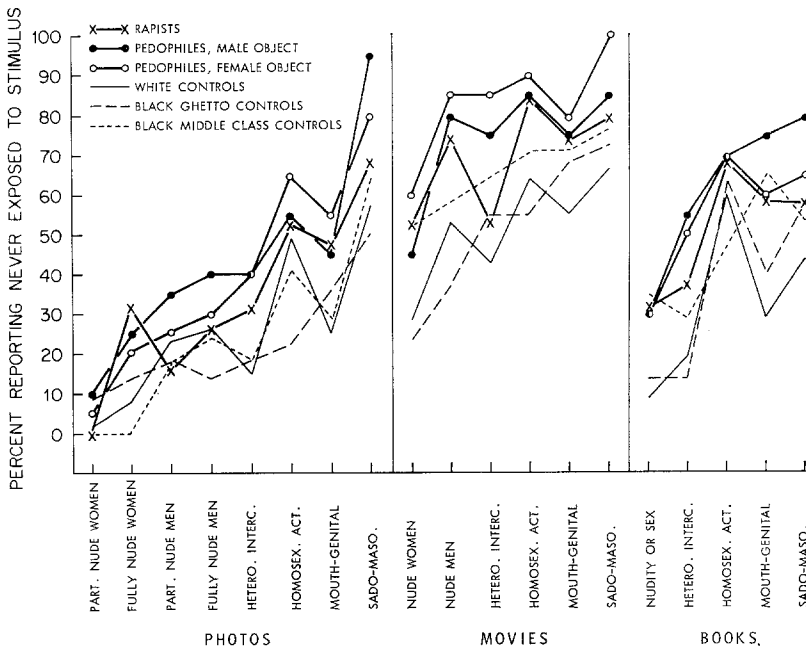


Fig. 1. Retrospective adolescent reports—target groups and controls.

Table I. Significance Levels for Differences Between Target Groups and White Controls (*N* = 53)^a

| | Rapists (<i>N</i> = 19) | Pedophiles, male object (<i>N</i> = 20) | Pedophiles, female object (<i>N</i> = 20) |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Photos | | | |
| Partially nude women | + | × | |
| Fully nude women | + | × | |
| Partially nude males | | | |
| Fully nude males | | | |
| Heterosexual intercourse | | * | * |
| Homosexual acts | | | |
| Mouth–genital contact | | | + |
| Sado-masochistic | | × | |
| Movies | | | |
| Nude women | | | * |
| Nude men | | | |
| Heterosexual intercourse | | * | + |
| Homosexual acts | | | |
| Mouth–genital contact | | | |
| Sado-masochistic | | | × |
| Books | | | |
| Nudity or sex | * | * | + |
| Heterosexual intercourse | | × | * |
| Homosexual acts | | | |
| Mouth–genital contact | * | × | * |
| Sado-masochistic | | × | |

^a Notation: * = *P* < 0.05; + = *P* < 0.02; × = *P* < 0.01; × × = *P* < 0.001.

frequency of *never* reports for rapists when compared to controls, as indicated in Table I, few significant chi-squares are present for the total range of frequency estimates. The rapists report significantly less exposure to photos of partially and fully nude women and to books describing nudity and mouth–genital relations.

Sex Offenders: Pedophiles Who Prefer Male Partners

In Fig. 1 there are sharper differences between this group of sex offenders and controls than was the case for the rapists. Across all stimuli and media these pedophiles report a higher percent of never having encountered erotic stimuli as adolescents. Significant chi-squares for the total range of frequencies reported are also more numerous for this contrast. They differ significantly for photos of partially and fully nude women, heterosexual intercourse, and sado-masochistic activity, movies of heterosexual intercourse and books describing nudity, heterosexual intercourse, mouth–genital, and sado-masochistic activity. These sex offenders who select young boys as sexual partners show a striking absence of reported exposure to representations of heterosexual intercourse across all media. This is the one type of stimulus for which significant chi-squares are obtained on all three media. Whether this represented a deliberate avoidance of this class of stimuli (heterosexual intercourse)

during adolescence by the pedophile who prefers males, or results from greater interest in other types of sexual stimuli, is impossible to determine from these data. The generally low levels of adolescent exposure reported by this group suggest that limited exposure to stimuli representing heterosexual intercourse represents the extreme in a pattern of generally low exposure to erotica.

The smallest difference between this group comprised of persons who are homosexuals of a type and controls is for photos and books depicting homosexual activity. This suggests that their homosexual interest was already present during their adolescent years and influenced their choice of erotica.

Sex Offenders: Pedophiles Who Prefer Female Partners

Figure 1 also shows the percent of this group of pedophiles reporting never being exposed to these stimuli. As with the pedophile, male object, less exposure to erotica than controls is reported. The significant chi-squares for the total range of exposure occur for heterosexual intercourse, regardless of the media. There are also significant differences for photos representing mouth-genital activities, movies portraying nude women, and sado-masochistic activity.

The two groups of sex offenders who prefer immature partners report a strikingly low degree of exposure to representations of mature sexual activity (heterosexual intercourse) during adolescence.

Homosexual Sample

In Fig. 2, the percent of homosexuals reporting never being exposed to these stimuli are presented. The number of significant chi-squares indicates that the marked difference between homosexuals and controls exists across all categories of exposure. During teenage years, the homosexuals report significantly less exposure than controls to erotica. For a few stimuli they do not differ significantly from controls. These stimuli are photos of partially and fully nude males, movies of homosexual acts, and books describing heterosexual intercourse. All but the latter are more likely to interest the homosexually inclined than the other stimuli. This suggests that these individuals may have sought out, as adolescents, erotically tinged photos relevant to their emerging homosexual interest.

Transsexuals

In Fig. 2, the data for reports of adolescent exposure for the transsexual group are presented. In general, these graphs indicate less exposure across all stimuli and all media. The most significant differences between male transsexuals and controls are found for photos of fully nude women, heterosexual intercourse, and mouth-genital relations and for books describing nudity or sex, heterosexual intercourse, and mouth-genital relations. Male transsexuals apply for help at the Gender Identity Clinic because they believe themselves to be of the opposite sex and wish treatment to realize this opposite sex role. In their teenage years, they report a strikingly low amount of exposure to stimuli in which the opposite sex is presented in some sexually

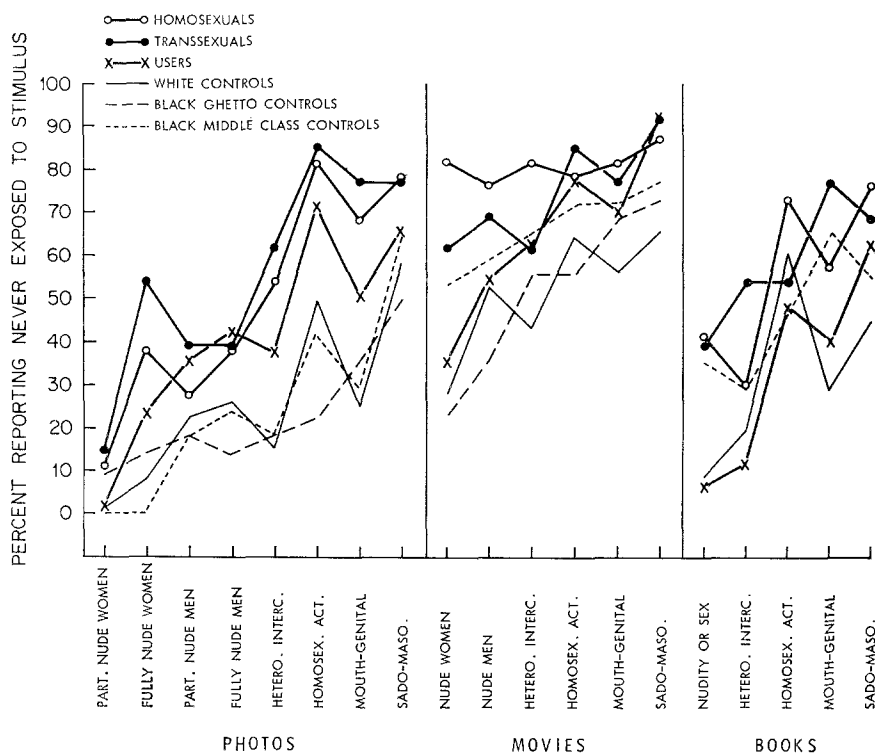


Fig. 2. Retrospective adolescent reports—target groups and controls.

provocative way. Thus, the curiosity and interest in taking on the role of the opposite sex did not appear to stimulate them to search out erotica likely to provide information about that sex. More often these respondents related that they found objects associated with the opposite sex (clothing particularly) to be far more erotic stimuli during adolescence than commercially produced pornography.

Users of Pornography

People who are currently frequent buyers and consumers of commercially available pornography indicate a pattern of adolescent reports similar to the sex deviate samples. Figure 2 shows that they report generally less exposure to erotica than controls and reveal significant differences for photos of fully nude women, fully nude males, and, as has been the case for the sex deviate groups, photos of sexual intercourse. In addition, they report a lower frequency for movies of heterosexual intercourse and sado-masochistic film content. The less frequent report of encountering sado-masochism in books represents the only significant difference in that category. Generally, the pornography user of today recalls strikingly little exposure to erotica as a teenager and as with all other previous samples the most consistent differences from the controls occur for stimuli representing heterosexual intercourse. It appears

Table II. Significance Levels for Differences Between Target Groups and White Controls ($N = 53$)^a

| | Homosexuals ($N = 37$) | Transsexuals ($N = 13$) | Users ($N = 52$) |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Photos | | | |
| Partially nude women | * | | |
| Fully nude women | × × | × × | × |
| Partially nude males | | | |
| Fully nude males | | | * |
| Heterosexual intercourse | × × | × × | × × |
| Homosexual acts | × × | | |
| Mouth-genital contact | × × | × × | × × |
| Sado-masochistic | + | | |
| Movies | | | |
| Nude women | × × | | |
| Nude men | * | | |
| Heterosexual intercourse | × × | | * |
| Mouth-genital contact | × | | |
| Sado-masochistic | + | | × × |
| Books | | | |
| Nudity or sex | × × | × × | |
| Heterosexual intercourse | | * | |
| Homosexual acts | * | | |
| Mouth-genital contact | × | + | |
| Sado-masochistic | × × | | * |

^a Notation: * = $P < 0.05$; + = $P < 0.02$; × = $P < 0.01$; × × = $P < 0.001$.

that sex deviates and users are noticeably lacking in experience, during their adolescent years, with stimuli representing our culture's definition of "the normal sex act." Levels of significance for Fig. 2 are shown in Table II.

Black and White Control Groups

Figure 3 shows that the black ghetto control and white control groups do not differ significantly. Small differences exist between the black middle-class control and the white control groups. There are two significant chi-squares, one for books describing nudity or sex, and one for books describing oral genital activity. Overall, all three samples differ significantly from the samples selected on the basis of their deviate sexual activity.

REPORTS OF RECENT EXPERIENCE

In the interest of brevity, we will summarize the reports of frequency of exposure during the year prior to the interview. The institutionalized sex offenders (rapists and two pedophile groups) continue to report significantly less exposure to erotic stimuli than do controls. In fact, the differences are greater for recent than preadolescent estimates. The transsexuals also continue to report less exposure than controls. Two

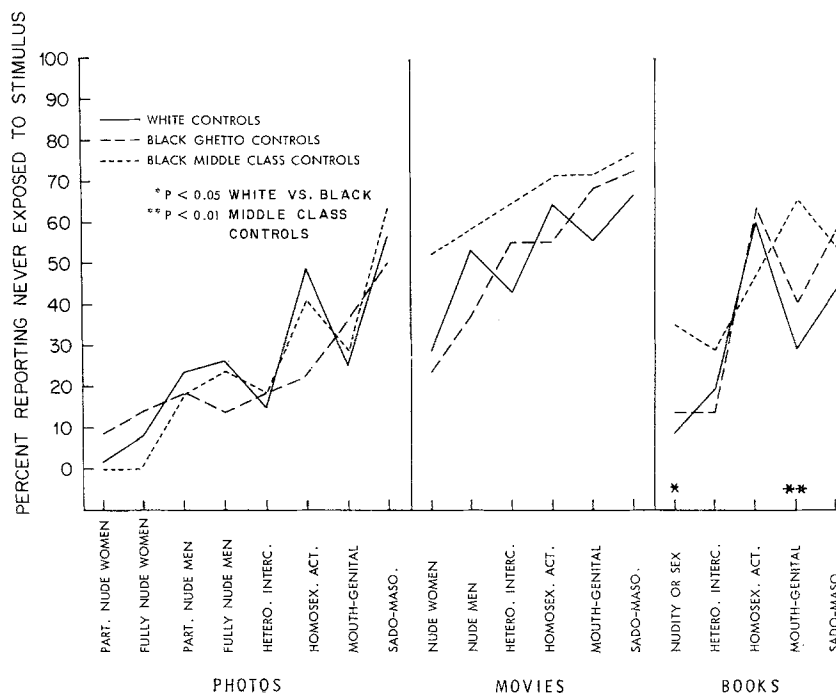


Fig. 3. Retrospective adolescent reports—black middle class, black ghetto, and white controls.

groups show a marked shift from the adolescent reports, the homosexuals and users. Each of these groups reported much less exposure to erotica as teenagers than controls but significantly *greater* exposure during the previous year. The degree of exposure reported during the previous year is so much greater than controls as to suggest an obsessive interest in sexual stimuli in both groups.

REPORTED EFFECT OF EXPOSURE TO EROTIC STIMULI

Numerous questions were posed to the subjects in each group concerning detailed reaction following exposure to erotic materials. These questions were designed to elicit data which might explain the role that erotic materials play in people's lives, particularly the group selected as extensive users. These responses might also help to explain the function of erotica in individuals with deviant and normal sexual lives. The questions covered a broad spectrum of emotional reactions as well as actual activities. To date, only a small part of these data have been analyzed. The questioning was divided into two sections: the first analyzing reaction to erotic materials in general, and the second the reaction to that particular experience with erotic material which each subject selected as standing out most strongly in his mind. Questions dealt separately with experiences in adolescence and in the most recent year (the year prior to institutionalization for the Atascadero sample).

Table III. Reaction to Erotic Material in General

| | White control | Rapist | Male-object pedophile | Female-object pedophile | Homo-sexual | Trans-sexual | User | | Black control | |
|---|----------------------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------|------|---------------|--------------|
| | | | | | | | Adult | Teen | Ghetto | Middle class |
| Excite to masturbate | 37 (87) ^a | 80 (90) | 60 (65) | 45 (60) | 75 (69) | 14 (36) | 78 | (86) | 13 (46) | 11 (50) |
| Actually looked at while masturbating | 11 | 35 | 25 | 10 | 39 | 14 | 46 | | 4 | 7 |
| Masturbate sometimes without erotic stimuli | 30 | 75 | 70 | 60 | 69 | 57 | 68 | | 13 | 7 |
| Excite to sexual relations | 48 | 55 | 60 | 55 | 56 | 21 | 56 | | 37 | 46 |
| Thoughts present during sexual relations | 19 | 20 | 30 | 30 | 19 | 7 | 28 | | 4 | 10 |
| N | 46 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 36 | 14 | 50 | | 24 | 28 |

^a Figures in parentheses are for adolescence—all others as adult.

Table IV. Reaction to Peak Experience with Erotica

| | White control | | Male-object pedophile | | Female-object pedophile | | Homosexual | | Transsexual | | User | | Black control | |
|-------------------------|---------------|------|-----------------------|------|-------------------------|------|------------|------|-------------|------|-------|------|---------------|--------------|
| | Adult | Teen | Adult | Teen | Adult | Teen | Adult | Teen | Adult | Teen | Adult | Teen | Ghetto | Middle class |
| Wished to try act seen | 30 | 48 | 35 | 65 | 25 | 40 | 33 | 39 | 14 | 29 | 58 | 66 | 29 | 63 |
| Did try shortly after | 13 | 28 | 15 | 25 | 25 | 20 | 6 | 14 | 7 | 14 | 22 | 30 | 21 | 38 |
| Wished other sex after | 65 | 63 | 40 | 75 | 60 | 70 | 45 | 55 | 61 | 50 | 66 | 72 | 37 | 71 |
| Did other shortly after | 35 | 22 | 20 | 25 | 40 | 40 | 15 | 25 | 36 | 28 | 32 | 52 | 29 | 4 |
| N | 46 | | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 36 | 14 | 14 | 50 | 50 | 27 | 28 |

Reaction to Erotic Material in General

Table III shows that the sex offender and sex deviate groups (other than the transsexuals) and the user group report a higher incidence of masturbation in response to erotic materials than the controls. However, these figures seem less impressive when compared to reports of incidence of masturbation when pornographic erotic material was not the stimulant; some of the groups actually show more masturbation without the pornographic erotic stimulant, the transsexuals being particularly striking in this regard. As adults, only the users show as much as 10% more of the subjects being stimulated to masturbate by erotic materials than would otherwise masturbate.

However, a striking comparison appears when the reports of excitement to masturbate by erotic materials in the past year are compared to the adolescent-based reports of being excited to masturbate by erotic materials. As adolescents, the white control group reports 87% were excited to masturbate by erotic materials, which is the highest report of any group other than the rapists which were 90%. The black control groups each report about half the sample being excited to masturbate by erotic materials as adolescents. Each of these three groups show a sharp *decrease* in being so excited as adults. Compare this with the user group which shows only a small drop from 86 to 78% and to the homosexuals who actually show a small increase in masturbating in response to the erotic materials as adults. These data would suggest that erotic materials remain important to the user group in adult life as stimulants to masturbate.

This suggestion is consistent with the responses to a further question inquiring as to whether or not the erotic material was actually looked at while masturbating. Forty-six percent of the users so reported, while only 11% of the white controls and under 7% of each of the two black control groups so reported. The two homosexual groups (the homosexuals and the pedophiles, male object) and the rapists were higher than the controls but not as high as the users in this regard.

When asked how they felt when thoughts about the erotic material might come to mind at a later time, the controls were again low on reporting arousal, whereas the user and sex offender groups had about half reporting arousal or feeling good. The rapists again showed their strongly disturbed feelings with a substantial number, 20%, reporting feeling guilty when later thinking about these materials; they were the only group having a substantial number so reporting.

When asked whether thinking about the materials excited them to sexual relations other than masturbation, about half of all the groups except the transsexuals (only 21%) so reported. The users did not noticeably stand out from the controls in this regard, although they were slightly higher. Thus, it would seem that the erotic materials are much more significant in producing masturbatory reaction in the users compared with the controls than in inducing sexual relations.

When asked whether thoughts of the material appear during sexual relations, no group reported more than 30%. The users were higher than the controls but slightly lower than the two pedophile groups.

Reaction to Peak Experience as Adult

After eliciting reports of frequency of exposure to erotic stimuli in all media in

the most recent year, the subject was directed to select the one experience that stood out most in his mind. After that peak experience was specified, the subject was asked if there was anything viewed in that experience that the subject wished to try later. As shown in Table IV, 58% of the users reported affirmatively, while with the controls and other groups under 40% stated yes.

When asked if the subject did in fact follow through with such sexual activity either immediately or shortly thereafter, all the reports dropped sharply. The users report only 22% imitating the act shown in the erotic stimuli while only 13% of the white controls so report. The other groups are about the same as the white controls, except the pedophiles, female object (25%), and the black ghetto controls (21%) are somewhat higher. These data again tend to confirm that the use made of the erotic material by the users is not direct or specific but tends more in the direction of general arousal and masturbation. This seems to be generally true of the rapists as well.

When asked if the subject wished to engage in some other sexual activity than that represented in this pornographic stimulus, the groups do not reveal sharp differences between themselves. However, the rapists seem to be noticeably lower in reporting affirmatively. When asked if such activity was actually engaged in afterwards, there is again a sharper drop in all groups in the number actually so engaging, with the rapists again being low in this regard, and the user group being relatively high, although less so than the controls. The homosexually inclined groups seem to have the highest actual outlets for experience afterwards.

As already noted, the rapists report relatively low actual activity either imitative, or of any kind, following stimulation by erotic materials. When the subjects were asked what the internal and external barriers were to actually engaging in sex activity, the only significant category of response for any group was the rapists' report of 15% "afraid of sex" and 15% having no available sex partner.

Reaction to Peak Experience as Adolescent

Questions were also asked the subjects concerning the experience that most stood out in their minds as adolescents (Table IV). At this age, all of the groups showed greater interest than as adults in imagining a chance to imitate the behavior viewed in the erotic material. The rapists particularly stand out with 80% recalling having had a desire to do so. The figures also are much greater for wishing to try sex of any kind afterwards with the rapists again having the highest report, 75%. The high reports of all groups to both these questions may be reflective of the higher generalized desire for sexual activity of adolescents as compared with adults, and it also might reflect greater stimulation because of the novelty of the experience of erotic material in adolescence as compared with the satiation effect evident later.

With respect to actual sexual activity, there seems to have been more imitative action initiated as adolescents than as adults, which also may be explained by the factors referred to above. The black ghetto control group reported the highest percentage, 38%, of actual imitation of the behavior viewed despite the group's very low reporting of general use of pornography. Most groups reported more general activity than specific imitative activity. The user group was much higher in general sexual

activity than in imitating. The rapists were generally average or lower in any sexual activity afterwards.

In the user group, arousal most frequently leads to masturbation as a drive reduction, with relatively little social sexual activity. This is quite characteristic of the person who develops a chronic dependency on pictures. The recurrence of thoughts of the erotic material leads to further masturbation. This pattern appears to continue into adulthood and becomes combined with the seeking of more erotic materials to induce arousal. The cycle of self-stimulation then continues. The users, more than the controls, reported thoughts about pictorial erotic material during intercourse, which may also be a type of self-stimulation necessary for them to complete the act of intercourse.

DISCUSSION

Generally, the reports of frequency during the adolescent years indicate that institutionalized sex offenders, homosexuals, transsexuals, and users of pornography report less frequent exposure than the control groups. The reports of frequency of exposure during the year previous to interview are consistent with retrospective adolescent data for the institutionalized sex offenders, transsexuals, and control samples in that the controls continue to show more exposure. The differences between institutionalized sex offenders and the controls are more marked for the recent than the retrospective adolescent data, although the trend of low exposure for sex offenders is present in both sets of data. In contrast, the homosexuals and pornography users show marked cross-over relative to controls when adolescent and recent reports are compared. The lesser exposure during adolescence for these groups and the higher recent exposure differ at high levels of significance from control reports. It appears that both groups show a continuing interest in erotica, the homosexuals in homosexual erotica and the users in both heterosexual and homosexual erotica. Since our data on homosexuals are based upon a sample of homosexuals willing to join a homophile organization and to be publicly identified with this deviate sex role, it is difficult to know whether the trends found can be generalized to the majority of homosexuals not willing to be publicly identified. The data for the transsexuals suggest a marked difference between this group which requests sex change and homosexuals. Their reports of exposure to erotica suggest very limited experience both in adolescence and during the year prior to interview.

Comparison of the reports of exposure to erotica across all types of stimuli indicates that sex deviates report less average exposure than controls. This suggests that a reasonable exposure to erotica, particularly during adolescence, reflects a high degree of sexual interest and curiosity. This curiosity is correlated with an adult pattern of acceptable heterosexual interest and practice. Less than average adolescent exposure, as in the sex deviate sample, reflects either avoidance of heterosexual stimuli—witness the consistently low figures for stimuli representing heterosexual intercourse—or development in an extremely restrictive atmosphere in which contact with such stimuli is prohibited and punished. It appears that the degree of exposure to erotica is a surface manifestation of a total pattern of sexual development. If this pattern of sexual development proceeds along a deviant track, then in later life deviant sexual behavior

is correlated with one of two extremes of a continuum of exposure to erotica, under-exposure or obsessive interest in erotica.

The differences between controls and our various comparison groups on demographic variables raise the question of whether the differences in reports of exposure to erotica reflect these socioeconomic, age-related, and educational factors.

The black middle-class control sample shows a very similar age distribution to the pedophiles, yet the blacks' exposure reports are identical to those of the white controls, suggesting that generational differences cannot fully account for differences in reported exposure. The pedophile and transsexuals represent markedly contrasting educational and occupational levels (transsexuals were better educated, had more professionals, and more unemployed) yet they share similar patterns of infrequent exposure to erotica. The homosexuals are high in educational level and their reports for adolescence parallel those of the pedophiles. It appears that all groups of sex deviates, with varying age distributions, educational levels, and occupational levels, share one common characteristic of low exposure to erotica during adolescence.

The present report deals primarily with reports of sex attitudes, practices, and frequency of exposure to erotic stimuli. However, frequency of contact with erotic stimuli does not tell the whole story. Certain experiences of a particularly vivid nature need only occur once or twice in order to produce significant effects on sexual attitudes and behavior. In the clinical interview, there are questions dealing with "peak" experiences with erotica suggested by the respondent. These questions deal with the nature of the experience and subsequent shifts in attitudes and behavior. While, to date, these data are only partially analyzed, the results, presented above, suggest that sexual arousal following exposure to erotica does not cue off any specific pattern of sexual action. The availability of a sex partner and internal attitudes and values concerning sexuality determine the mode of sexual expression. In adolescence, erotic materials suggest varieties of sexual behavior, but the behavior engaged in most typically is masturbation. In adult life, only the chronic pornography users and the sex offenders appear to continue this pattern of arousal and masturbation as their fearful sexual attitudes prevent the use of normal sexual outlets. It appears that unresolved sexual conflicts present in adolescence may relate to adult sexual patterns in which erotica is a necessary stimulus to gratification. In the other males, the adolescent use of erotica as an adjunct to sexual actions declines and the sexual partner becomes the primary source of arousal and gratification.

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